

# The Republican.

---

No. 21, Vol. 13.] LONDON, Friday, May 26, 1826. [PRICE 6d.

---

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

WE often fall into an awkward leader of this kind; but when it so happens, something good may be expected in the middle or at the end of the Number. The propriety of finishing the series of Stewart's Discourses in the present volume has led us to insert an *Introductory Discourse*, as well as *Discourse I*, in this Number; and this, with the working up of some pieces that have stood over from former Numbers, still obliged to defer for another week Ben David's piece in reply to the Reverend Robert Taylor, has excluded all room for the introduction of a new subject. A desire lurks too, to see if William Cobbett has any thing to say for himself in the warfare now carrying on, in answer to the memoir, or in farther attack of the "EVERY WOMAN'S BOOK."

The *Every Woman's Book* is now improved and the third edition on rapid sale. And we boldly tell William Cobbett, that he never published a book, so useful, and so chaste as this book for every woman.

A depth of mind is required to see the force and the beauties of Stewart's Lectures and Discourses. He was original in his doctrines, and like the originality of the great Bentham on matters of jurisprudence, it is expressed in language and an idiom a little obscure to ordinary minds. To such a shallow minded man as William Cobbett, the Lectures and Discourses of John Stewart, like the writings of Jeremy Bentham, would be unintelligible and appear like nonsense or as Greek and Hebrew appeared to him when a plough boy: he would abuse Stewart as he abused Bentham. But the superiority which Stewart gives to sagacity over science, is well worth attention and consideration; for he has clearly shewn in the cases of Newton and Priestley, that a man might have a great deal of scientific knowledge, or that which relates to the arts and sciences, and still, with regard to general knowledge, or a knowledge of man in general and of moral truths in particular, he may be a *scientific dolt*. These Lectures and Discourses of Stewart's, with the "WAR WITH COBBETT," will form the two great features of the thirteenth volume of "The Republican."

---

Printed and Published by R. Carlile, 135, Fleet Street.

## NEW TEMPLE OF REASON.

I HAVE not waited in vain for a good house in Fleet Street. On Friday last, the 19th Inst. I deposited one hundred pounds and entered into an agreement to make it ten hundred on or before Midsummer Day for the lease and fixtures of 62 Fleet Street, the corner of Bouverie Street, but not the corner that was Murray's. Mr. Murray may take a lesson and perceive that his religious folly and his want of honesty in dealing, though it put ninety pounds into his pocket, did me no eventual injury. I have now a better house at the same expence. His *gracious god*, he may now perceive, takes just as much care of me as of him, and provides as well for my welfare as for his. Indeed, my ruling providence is more powerful and more divine than his. It has better ground to work upon.

Having as yet some little assistance to seek to complete my purchase of this house, I have the most firm reliance on my *superiorly divine providence*, (I thought of Mr. Hunt's *superiorly prepared roasted corn*, I believe the word *superiorly* is one of his *superior* and *matchless* manufactures) to procure it for me.

## JOINT STOCK BOOK COMPANY.

ALL promises for the present are completed. Queen Mab, (a waistcoat pocket edition) is ready for delivery: and on Tuesday next, we shall have a piece of Voltaire's, full of wit, smut and philosophy, called LORD CHESTERFIELD'S EARS, ready for delivery, at sixpence. For the company we are reprinting JANUS ON SION, to be ready in one month: after which Freret's *Letter to Leucippe by Thrasybulus*. We have also in the press; but promised for no time.—*Aphorisms selected from the writings of Thomas Paine*.

To suit the pockets of all we must print small as well as large things.

We have published *two crumbs of comfort* for the saints; the one at a penny, the other at a half-penny. The first is entitled "Priestcraft Exposed," and is a match for St. Peter's Holiday; the second is the "Character of the Bible," that was sold for two-pence, thrown on a page, to be sold for the half-penny, for the convenience of distribution among the subscribers to Bible Societies.

R. C.

## TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

14, Upper York-street, Bryantston-square, May 17, 1826.

SIR,

YOUR excellent "shew-up" of Cobbett has made him the subject of general conversation in society, and I am nauseated to death by the common-place cant that is almost invariably broached on the subject; "that Cobbett is a wonderfully clever man, but a very great knave." The latter part of the opinion I shall leave as I find; but the former part, although it is little short of heresy and treason, I have no hesitation in denying. To say that a man who has written with some success for thirty years "has nothing in him" but impudence would be folly. But certainly no public man's talents have been so much overrated. The argument by which his admirers (who lead the public cant in this respect) support his pretensions to genius is this: that his logic is correct and forcible; if you grant his premises, you must admit his conclusion, which is saying, in other words, give him leave to tell as many lies as he pleases, and he will prove any thing. So far from this being a proof of ability, it is evidence of the writer's want of ingenuity. I should have said of the boldness of his cause, but Cobbett must be one exception to that rule as he has written for all causes.

On the subject of Free Trade, you fairly wrote him down Ass. And on the currency, the strong hold of his fame, he has betrayed ignorance of the fact admitted by his master, Thomas Paine, that the National Debt "carries part of its own weight." He has also overlooked the IMPOSSIBILITY, (a trifle with him) of finding gold enough to represent all the other wealth of the world. And another thing, which I am surprised has not been noticed, that paper, as a circulating medium, a promissory note for instance, may represent *all* a man's property, that *he must dispose of half his goods* TO GET gold to represent the other half. The desideratum is to prevent a note from representing more than all.

But Cobbett's style is pure English!! If his "vulgar tongue" were so, I should wish the annihilation of the language. What then are the writings of Addison, Gibbon, and Johnson? For they are as different from Cobbett as light from darkness, rudeness from politeness, or taste from barbarity.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

R. T. WEBB.

## TO MR. BARNES, THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,

135, Fleet Street, May 20, 1826.

I ALLOW to you or to any man the right to examine, not only my publications, whether of my own writing or of any other per-



son's, but my conduct also, either private or public, as, if wrong, in all cases, I wish to be set right; but I cannot allow to you the right to associate me fictitiously in companionship with a person with whom I was never associated in reality, and then to call me *a wretch* as the past companion of that person. I have had no more acquaintance with William Cobbett, than I have had with Mr. Barnes, the Editor of "The Times;" and, if Mr. Barnes be very much pleased with my little memoir of William Cobbett, I have not a doubt, but I could equally please William Cobbett, by writing a *most true memoir* of Mr. Barnes, the Editor of "The Times."

In your paper of the 17th inst. you have noticed my memoir of William Cobbett with approbation; but you conclude it by calling me *a wretch*, in conjunction with Cobbett. I am not *a wretch*, in any sense that can be properly applied to that word; but I have *a little store of facts* about Mr. Barnes, which would go far to shew that he was in reality that description of person which he has falsely stated me to be.

I have long thought that it will form the most useful part of my duty to write memoirs of the persons who influence the press of this country, and, as sure as I return to the task, you, Mr. Barnes, as having often heaped wanton insult on me, shall have the preference as to being the first: so, good bye for the present.

RICHARD CARLILE.

---

## STEWART'S DISCOURSES.

---

### INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

My Lectures being concluded, I have now to exhibit my discourses. The first will contain an analysis of human knowledge, to shew how far the actions of intelligence are capable of conformity with the existence of things, whereby we shall discover the nature, extent, and utility of all knowledge relative to human action, and of the experimental sentiments of imagination passing beyond it in regular analogy, marking the boundaries of intellectual energy by conceivability.

IN the Greek and Roman Republics, schools of philosophy were held in the open streets among a tumultuous, ignorant, and licentious rabble; and as we hear of no censure being passed upon their bold and comprehensive inquiries, there is every reason to conclude that they diffused a great proportion of light to imbue the characteristic levity of the populace with thought and deliberation. I am highly consoled and encouraged to open my philosophic school under more beneficent auspices than those of Athens or Rome, in a country whose population, organized in representative government, unknown to the ancients, characterized with a thoughtful disposition, spread over a vast territory, every indi-



vidual a proprietor, attached to order with the universal and indestructible cement of private interest—among such a population it is reasonable to doubt whether the most inflammatory discourses of sedition, or the most licentious ridicule of religion, could have the least injurious influence. It would however be the height of folly and stupidity to doubt whether among an American population so auspiciously characterized, a serious, candid, and unprejudiced, enquiry into the intelligible nature of man, his intelligible relations with the universe, and the laws of intellectual power, independent of creeds, doctrines, and religious opinions—I say, to doubt whether such philosophy would be beneficent or injurious in this country would be downright idiotism. My school is calculated to suppress action and promote thought, as the only medium of perfectible manhood. A truly thoughtful man may sometimes fall into error, but he never can become either an habitual fool or an unprincipled knave. The doctrines of my new school will be adapted to the improved state of human intellect; the quibbling of logic and the babbling sophistry of metaphysics, that disgraced the ancient schools, will be exploded, and nothing will be offered to public instruction but the intelligible phenomena of nature, amenable to the experience of the senses, in order to establish the laws of human nature in its attribute of intelligence, to render man a competent and concinnate instrument in the great mechanism of the universe.

The philosophy of nature and good sense will strip knowledge of its college foppery, virtue of its didactic cant, and wisdom of its learned sophistry; and will exhibit in plain truth and simple instruction the means of pleasure to the man of pleasure, the means of success to the man of business, and the means of happiness to individual man in the discovery of the laws of intellectual power, explained in a familiar and easy method, adapted to common capacity and common information.

Of all the wonders that exhibit themselves in the great spectacle of the visible universe, the most stupendous is the unaccountable conduct of mankind in studying every part of nature, and abandoning the important knowledge of himself. The laws of motion, after the laborious research of ages, have been discovered by Newton, and the result has been to make us better acquainted with the relative movements of the solar system, but not with man himself.

The laws of light have been discovered by the same scientific genius, and the result has been to make us better acquainted with the constitution of colours, and to improve thereby our scarlet habits, but not our happiness. The improvements of botanical science have enabled us to classify plants, mosses, and caterpillars. Natural history has filled the cabinets of the curious with stuffed alligators and caterpillars' eggs. Chymistry, the most important of all studies when directed to the knowledge of man

and nature, has been confined to the analysis of air and water, colours, and transmutation of metals. Travellers have gone forth, supported by the treasure and power of kings, to measure mountains, trace the sources of rivers, and bring home their vessels loaded with stuffed animals, fish-hooks, feathers, and canoes.

The traveller who now presents himself to your attention has spent thirty years of his life in visiting all the great nations of the globe, with no other support than a small annuity acquired by his own industry; the object of his pursuit was the knowledge of man and not mountains, the laws of intellectual power and not the classification of plants and cockle-shells. The tyrants of the world have encouraged the futile pursuits of arts and sciences, to divert the attention of man to the idle curiosity of Royal Academies and Institutes, while they pinioned him unobservedly with the shackles of Kingcraft and Priestcraft. The traveller who shall attempt to discover and expose the true knowledge of man and nature, can be patronized only by a free and enlightened people, by a nation whose very existence depends on the progress and diffusion of that knowledge, which, according to Pope, alone deserves the name of knowledge—

“ And all our knowledge is ourselves to know.”

“ The proper study of mankind is man.”

He does not compare the knowledge of man with any of the sciences, whereby he suggests that the knowledge of man and his relations to the universe are alone worthy the study of mankind, and that the whole encyclopedia of science, according to the opinion of another great poet, Young, is nothing but pompous trifling when compared with the knowledge of man. It is however easy to account for this egregious blunder of human intellect in preferring all studies to that of human nature. In all my librarian studies I never met with a book on the subject of man and his moral powers that did not excite in my mind the most contemptuous disgust. The mind of man was considered as a subject of metaphysics, that is, of preternatural essence and unintelligible mystery; the whole system of philology, from Aristotle down to John Locke, was a continued and imitated logomachy of words, that had no prototypes in things, phrases that had no meaning, and sounds that had no sense. The moral science or study of man appeared a labyrinth that had no exit, a system that had no harmonious parts, and a science that had no rules. The human understanding, disgusted with this metaphysical aspect of its own nature, declined all enquiry, and sought truth in the physical sciences, which offered a plain and intelligible path to the accomplishment of its object; thus man became acquainted with the most remote relations of the visible universe, and knew more of a comet that he saw only once in 500 years, than of himself, with

whom and in whom he lived throughout the period of a long life, and to whom the sole object of interest was the laws of his own nature directing to happiness. These physical studies in the accomplishment of their object led to fame, while the study of man, guided by the *ignis fatuus* of metaphysics, terminated in nothing but verbal controversy, absurdity, and reproachful censure. To this abandonment of the moral science or study of man, we may attribute all the evils of human life, luxury, vice, ignorance, superstition, war, and slavery, which never can be remedied by the pompous and trifling knowledge of literature, generating the technical powers of science, and not the essential powers of sagacity, the true character of intellectual energy, the only remedy for human misery.

In the course of my travels, the laws of intellectual power awakened my attention with a glimpse of their nature in the various actions of national modes of thought. Observation, reflection, and experience, in the progress of my travels, had enabled me to classify the various associations of the human species into five distinct classes.

Savage life, comprehending the inhabitants of the polar circle on the eastern continent, and the aborigines of America. Pastoral life, comprehending the inhabitants of Tartary and Arabia. Agrestic life, comprehending the inhabitants of Asia and Africa. Scientific life, comprehending the inhabitants of the continent of Europe. Civic life, comprehending the inhabitants of the British Isles, and its colonial offsprings, in the sublime confederacy of the American Republic.

In savage life, I observed the actions of intellectual power in such a great extreme of imbecility and ignorance, that it opened to my research the first glimpse of the laws of human intelligence. The simple pursuit of the chase, which characterizes and distinguishes the savage from the other classes of social life, produces so weak an impulse of mental action, that every action of thought produced by fancy was mistaken for an object of intelligence. Every mountain, rock, river, tree, was supposed to have a spirit that directed its action, and demanded homage from man. This feeble state of observation, preserved by the paucity of wants, desires, and ideas of a hunting life, debilitated the action of the faculties, and the perception of the savage had no power to multiply the relation of objects, the germ of mental sagacity.

When the idea or object, man, presented itself to his mind, he perceived only the two simple relations of friend and foe; and not the various relations of a developing human energy, marked by the poet—

“ Friend, parent, neighbour, first it does embrace,  
Our country next, and next all human race;  
Wide and more wide the o’erflowings of the mind,  
Takes every creature in of every kind;



Forc'd on by sympathy and reason's power,  
Reaches the bounds of all existence's shore ;  
Sinks in the soil of matter to repose,  
And self and nature's endless union shews."

The weak faculty of perception in the savage mind, presenting the subject man in such a paucity of relations, gave but a feeble exercise to the faculties of conception, reflection, judgment, and reason, and produced the most infantine state of human intellect. When I came among the inhabitants of pastoral life, I observed the laws of property in domestic animals had extended the powers of the faculty of perception, and consequently called into exercise the faculties of conception, reflection, judgment, and reason.

Fancy made less impression on thought, and gave it more object and less action than in the savage mind—trees, rivers, rocks, and mountains, lost their spiritual personalities, and the immortal king, called the lama, engrossed the whole of their adoration and superstition. Progressing in my travels among the inhabitants of agrestic life in Asia, I observed the multiplied and increased relations of laws and institutions to protect new acquisitions of landed property giving improved energy to the intellectual faculties, and as perception multiplied its relations in every idea, the co-operative faculties of reflection, judgment, and reason acquired a more vigorous exercise. Fancy diminished its influence over thought in the proportion of expanding perception, and the adoration of an immortal impostor was transferred to metaphysical and mythological personifications. Passing from Asia into Europe, I found inhabitants characterised by the progress of arts and sciences unknown in Asia. The increased activity of mental energy, through the multiplied relations of laws, institutions, commerce, arts, and sciences, had expanded the powers of all the faculties, and reduced thereby the dominion of fancy over the action of thought, and the multiplied entities of heathen idolatry gave way to the unity of theological power. From the domains of scientific life, I passed into those of civic life, comprehending the British Isles and the continent of America; I have before observed, that the extreme imbecility of human intellect in savage life suggested to my mind the first glimpse of the laws of intellectual power, and I shall now take occasion to demonstrate that the view of civic life in its discriminate character from scientific life has enabled my mind to construct the consummate system of intellectual law or the discipline of the human understanding. In civic life, I observed the arts and sciences in a less active progress than on the continent of Europe, no palaces, no pictures, no statues, no musical academies, the moral science of man and nature in civic, domestic, political and natural relations had superseded the pompous pedantry of literature, and the trifling

levities of the arts and sciences. Newspapers, pamphlets, and periodical essays upon moral subjects called thought to the highest exercise of meditation, and gave to the faculties of perception, reflection and judgment the most extensive energy of their powers. I shall endeavour to explain this pre-eminent and invidious distinction between civic and scientific life, by taking a comparative view of the physical sciences and moral science in their influence upon the human understanding. The physical sciences, as mathematics, astronomy and geometry, have all a fixed ratio and specific rules of their powers, which may be acquired and recognized by the application and exertion of the faculty of memory, alone unassisted by any of the co-operative powers or modifications of thought called faculties.

The moral science has nothing fixed or specific in any of its propositions. It is to be approximated only by the preponderancy of evidence, and not the demonstration of proof. Moral evidence has no character or mark of its preponderancy, but like the nautical longitude, approximated with the accuracy of instruments, so moral truth is to be approximated by the power and discipline of the thoughts and faculties.

The arts and sciences are developed in a simple and direct ratio of means and ends exemplified in astronomy, whose laws of system follow the direct ratio of density and distance in the luminous bodies of the solar sphere. The moral science follows a complicate and direct ratio of means and ends. Civil liberty is an end to be obtained by the most complicate and indirect means of legal restraint. Peace is to be obtained by the contrasted means of war, and social happiness is to be obtained by restriction of individual pleasure. The application of means to ends in the arts and sciences requires little more than the remembrance of specific and direct rules. The application of means to ends in the moral science requires the most critical exercise of thought to mark the end of human perfectibility, and the most critical accuracy of the faculties of perception, reflection, and judgment, to combine and adopt a multiplicity of relations as contrasted means, to obtain but a short step or proximate end in the experimental process of practical moral good. The technical power of intellect will reach the utmost boundaries of science, while the essential power, called sagacity or good sense, in its highest energy, will be baffled and frustrated by the shortest progress in the moral science. This truth may be exemplified in a comparative and critical view of the various classes of social life. The savage is known to be capable of learning the most complicate systems of the physical science, and my frequent experience assures me of his absolute incapacity to ratiocinate a single question in the moral science. The same incapacity marks all the stages of social life below that of civic life, and I believe that the present construction of the organ of thought in those people is inadequate to the powers of ratiocination in the moral science, and is to be removed only by a physical improvement of the race by intermarriage with the inhabitants of civic life. Scientific life would require the improvement of one generation; agrestic life would require that of two; pastoral life that of three; and savage life would demand the improvement of four generations to acquire the physical constitution of the brain necessary to attain the moral science in the capacity of doubting thoughtfulness. The truth of this hypothesis must, however, be brought to the test of natural, substituted to school, education, as exhibited in these lectures.



In anatomical dissections of the brain, certain parts have been observed in a lesser and greater state of prominence from that of the monkey to the highest state of intellectual power in man : and I have no doubt if a critical attention were paid to the dissection of the brain in the five classes of human society, that these prominent parts would bear an exact ratio to the feeble action of science in the one, and to the laborious operation of thought producing sagacity in the moral science of civic man.

The character of intelligence, called thoughtfulness, resembles the nautical compass, where the needle of judgment is oscillated by doubt in the indeterminable equations of the moral science. The character of technical intellect resembles the dial, whose index is fixed to specific latitudes in the arts and sciences. In all my travels to observe the action and character of mind among different nations, I never found an individual out of civic life that could conduct his thoughts in the indispensable medium of doubt. Rousseau, the greatest moralist that scientific life on the continent of Europe ever produced, declared that his mind could not tolerate so painful a state ; and Condorcet, the greatest and last philosopher of scientific life, was so incapable of doubt, that he proposed the relations of algebra to calculate moral truth. The revolution of France has exhibited the most incontestable evidence of this truth in the proscription of parties among whom doubt, or the least difference of opinion, had no remedy but the guillotine, which in civic life would have excited nothing but friendly argumentation. The propositions of the physical sciences are all fixed, discriminate, and definite, while those of the moral science are indefinite, blended, and fugitive. Memory can, with ease, restore the fixed aspect of the one, while the faculty of perception demands the utmost energy of discernment and comprehension, to restore the fugitive shades and multiplied relations of the moral science. The source of intellectual power, called sapiency, distinguished from the technical power called science or knowledge, is derived from the energy of the faculty of perception, which, by multiplying and discriminating the greatest number of relations in a given subject, presents to reason the amplitude of evidence for examination, comparison, and decision, in the doubtful medium of approximating probability. The character of sapiency or good sense, is thus apostrophized by Pope—

“ Good sense, thou precious, noblest gift of heaven,  
 ‘Tho’ no one science, fairly worth the seven.”

What are all the highest discoveries of the technical powers of intellect in science compared to the lowest and most simple discovery of the laws of intellectual powers in the moral science? The invention of fluxions, which enabled Newton to discover the laws of motion, or that of the telescope, which enlarged the boundaries of the visible universe, what I demand is the value of this pompous knowledge compared with the discovery of the most simple law of intellectual power, which opens to man the developement of his energy in the system of the universe, to harmonize his thoughts and actions with the laws of nature, to augment good and diminish evil in the mundane system, in time and futurity, as the great end of his existence? The developement of human energy can advance only in the improvement of the moral science, which being cultivated exclusively among the inhabitants of civic life in Great Britain and America, it was their laws, institutions, customs, and peculiar mental conduct, that first suggested to my mind the laws of intellectual power in the action of the faculties, as the conduct of savage life, in the extravagant superstitions of fancy, had before suggested rules for the discipline of thought. That I may



not be suspected of a natural and invincible partiality for those laws, customs, and propensities, among which I was born and educated, I shall exhibit a contrasted view of the laws and customs of scientific and civic life, from which my opinions have been formed, and my important discoveries of the laws of intellectual power have been made.

To be as clear, simple, and intelligible as possible, in my review of national character, I shall take notice only of the institutions of juries, popular assemblies, and newspapers. The great mass of population in civic life are all supposed qualified to examine the intricate systems of foreign policy and the critical relations of domestic justice, alternately called together, to elect magistrates and administer the laws in juries.

The general mass of intellect in the people called to the perpetual exercise of its powers in the moral science, and excited by the freedom of the press in newspaper discussions, a serious and manly use of the understanding betrays itself in conversation, and generates the pre-eminent character of thoughtfulness, which distinguishes so palpably the civic from the scientific man. In scientific life, juries, popular assemblies, and newspapers, having no existence, the mind is called to no exercise of the thoughts and faculties. The tone of conversation is nothing but the repetition of facts from the diary of Court follies, called gazette, or the invention of a new balloon, a new opera, or a question from the institute relative to caterpillars' eggs, or the philosophy of cockle-shells. Thus a frivolity of mental occupation generates a defect of thought, and incapacity of doubt, in the scientific man, and leaves him undistinguished from the savage but in the superiority of memory and useless science. I will venture a bold and original assertion, without fear of censure or contradiction, that a single American newspaper, in the absolute freedom of the press, contains more instructive energy to enlighten the mind than all the publications of science throughout the continent of Europe. The single question of the election of a President of the United States definitely or indefinitely calls the faculties of the mind into a higher degree of exercise than all the scientific questions of academies published in court gazettes, to dignify these diaries of royal follies, and amuse a thoughtless people with the shadow of free enquiry into questions of trifling literature, or the natural philosophy of cockle shells. I will rest all my defence of national prejudice upon the political state of the American people. This country, without universities, libraries, observatories, and institutes—without poets, painters, and sculptors—without arts, and without sciences, has carried the moral science to its acmé in the discovery of the great desideratum of human policy—a confederacy of nations. This sublime system, regarded as a chimera by the lettered sages and star-gazers of Europe, was reserved by nature for the farmers of America to discover and establish, as an indelible and irrefutable evidence of the superiority of sagacity over science.

It has been usual for the travellers of scientific life, in their research of mosses and butterflies, to make some cursory observations upon man himself, and to mark the character of the inhabitants of Great Britain and America with phlegm, taciturnity, and stupidity. It is a notorious fact, with which every traveller of observation must be acquainted, that the great mass of the inhabitants of scientific life on the continent of Europe are distinguished from those of civic life in the western hemisphere by an extreme vivacity and activity of mind, accompanied with an incessant loquacity.

When a traveller demands from a continental peasant information of his route, or whether it is possible to arrive at his post before dark, he will receive a prompt, decisive, and undeliberate answer in the positive nega-

tive or affirmative, accompanied with all the trifling anecdotes of a country gossip. If the same question is put to a civic peasant, he will answer with great deliberation, and doubt that as the road has several branches you must advance with cautious enquiry. That your arrival will depend upon the passage of the intervening ferries, and his conversation will be confined to the prices of the neighbouring markets, or the circumstances of his own profession, or questions directed to some useful purpose. In the character of the continental or scientific mind, we find vivacity without thought, and in the insular or civic mind we find thought without vivacity. This distinction between the intellectual qualities of thought and knowledge is strongly illustrated in the anecdote of one of the French princes who travelled into England, and upon his return was questioned by the King, his father, what he had learned? To which he replied, "Sire, I have learned to think." At this period of history France had far advanced England in the arts and sciences, while the moral science which generates the capacity of thinking was known only in England. This supreme quality of intellect, that is, thinking or inverting the mind upon itself, is still in its germ even in civic life, and in very slow progression towards human perfectibility.

The distinction between thought and knowledge is synonymous with science and sagacity. The first has the quality of the compass, the other that of the dial. The compass of thought oscillates dubious probabilities of the moral science in the exercise of all the faculties, while the dial of knowledge excites to action the memory alone to record the fixed rules of science, and I will venture to assert, without fear of refutation, that the most simple question in the moral science demands more intellectual energy for its solution than the most profound problems of science.

---

#### DISCOURSE I.

##### ON HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

MANKIND have exhibited through all ages more instances of folly, error, extravagance, and intellectual imbecility, in the pursuit and pretended acquisition of false knowledge, than by the most simple and barbarous state of ignorance; and I regard the savage of Saldanha Bay, who is deprived of all knowledge of the arts and sciences, while he rejects metaphysical ideas as non-entities, a far more sagacious man than the Bishop of Cloyne, who maintained that matter had no existence, and that all being was power or mind, that existed without any substance or body to support it.

When a man has acquired the discipline of his rational faculties, and permits his mind to operate upon nothing but what is intelligible matter, or objects of sense and experience, it is astonishing with what simplicity the great volume of nature exhibits all that knowledge or conjecture which is either useful or consolatory to the existence of man. Knowledge, in the language of disciplined reason, imports only such an operation of human intelligence as conforms the action of thought, in competency and not preci-

sion, to the action or phenomena of things, independent of their unintelligible causes.

I shall illustrate this important definition of knowledge, on which all my philosophy is founded, by various simple and clear examples. When the mind disposes itself to take cognition of the sun, it modifies the action of thought into ideas or notions of figure, distance, heat, light, motion, &c.; these phenomena holding a certain course or system of action, the intellect of man is enabled to conform the relations of thought with the action, not the essence of things, as the conduct of the farmer to the periodical phenomena of heat and approach of the sun in the spring season, and thereby harmonize human action and solar action to the end and purpose of cultivation and subsistence, and in the same manner all human action to the laws of nature.

The man, or farmer, is satisfied with the cognition of phenomena or action, and gives himself no concern relative to the substance or matter of the sun's body, whether it is liquid fire, or whether the action of heat is produced immediately from the sun's body, or mediately through the medium of the atmosphere. The musician, who pursues the knowledge of sound, applies the operation of intelligence merely to its action, and not to its elementary causes, (which he finds incognoscible) and conforming the action of human mechanism in instruments in skill to the phenomena of acoustic laws and powers, he produces the grateful sensation of melody in the science of music, without any concern or research after the incognoscible causes or essence of sound.

All the indagation made use of in the sciences avails only to discover new action or new phenomena, as when the chemist discovers water that was thought to be a simple element to be a compound, he only discovers new phenomena to aid the action of human skill in the purification of this element, without any cognition of the causes to effect the union of its parts, which, if known, would probably advance but little the utility of the end and means of aliment. In this manner we acquire also the knowledge of mind, which is nothing more than a certain course of action of the nervous system, whose phenomena preserves a certain harmony of connection, as displayed in my Lectures on the Understanding and the Will.

By studying these phenomena, man is enabled to conduct himself to the great end and purpose of his existence—the well-being of self in its double interests of personal and material identity in time and futurity. Such knowledge of self in its actions or phenomena is independent of all the incognoscible causes of human body on mind, its power; and if we could discover how the visual nerve produced sight, or the brain thought, it is most probable we should not thereby improve the powers of either. If we survey the knowledge of man as exhibited in the various phenomena of self-action, as harmonizing with surrounding bodies, we observe



the human body in a constant state of reciprocal exchange of matter with all other bodies, so that the atoms which at a prior moment constituted man, in successive moments will constitute master, servant, slave, or cattle. That the personal and material identity, like waves in the sea, agitate and are agitated in reciprocal commotion of injury. If the master of a family makes home miserable by his vices, the family the neighbourhood, this the country, the country the human species, and this transfers the expanding misery to the whole sensitive system—the action and re-action of evil and good flows from the parts to the whole, and back again from the whole to the parts.

Men-surges, like a sea of matter borne,  
Disturb those surges into which they turn.

Such is the knowledge of man communicated in the action or phenomena of nature, which seems competent to all the purposes of intelligence, which is that of conducting things to their ends and uses. This human action is capacitated by human intelligence to diminish evil and augment good within the sphere of its interest and its energy, beyond which cognition would avail nothing. These laws of knowledge and intelligence do not at all interfere with the mysteries of religious faith, which supposes at an indefinite period, called the day of judgment, that a new code of laws will take place to punish crime and reward merit.

My philosophy in the discovery of the intelligible and demonstrable laws of nature provides only for the immense chasm of human interest to which religious faith has paid no attention. The indefinite period of the day of judgment, at the destruction of the world, may not take place for millions of ages, during which the agonizing existence of sensitive nature in the mundane system is of great importance to the sagacious and sympathetic mind, and consoles it with this reflection, that reason presents in this system of fact and phenomena an auxiliary knowledge to faith, which faith had refused to reason. It would be more suitable to the plan of these Lectures to make no mention whatever of religious faith, because mystery and knowledge have no relation whatever to each other; the research of these Lectures is into the powers of intellect alone, and I feel a great impropriety and reluctance to make the most distant allusion to mystery of any kind, but a wish to remove the jealousy of religious prejudice obliges me to make these conciliatory reflections. The laws of intellectual power are calculated to render man a concinnate member of the great mechanism of the universe. These laws require that sensation of every kind should operate in a perceptible medium, as the organs of feeling in a tangible medium, of sight in a visible medium, of hearing in an audible medium, and of thought in an intelligible medium.

The intelligible medium of the sixth sense of thought, in its

organ the brain, is made up of objects or ideas amenable to experience; where there is no object, the mind can have no useful or intelligible action—and where there is no experience, there can be no knowledge. The intelligible medium of the knowledge of man is formed by palpable objects and relations of power, amenable to experience in laws, customs, nations, and generations, throughout the whole sensitive system, as may be thus exemplified:—

A law of confederacy will give peace to nations and happiness to individuals; this happiness will be perpetuated in the posthumous interest of the dissolving body by death, recombined into new generations, and the whole relations of matter and power will be benefited by the meliorated condition of the whole sensitive system—and such relations of man and nature constitute the laws of the moral science. By this exposition of the constitution of nature, we discover all the relations of human interest and human power to be exposed in the intelligible medium of palpable objects and demonstrative experience of law, custom, and conduct, and the remote conjectures of imagination founded on the rules of analogy and the criterion of conceivability.

The posthumous relation of man to the sensitive system exhibits the simple object of transmutation, of dissolving into renovating bodies, without any experience of the quantity or duration of interest in that transmutation; but this fact or idea is amenable to the scale of sensation in life, and makes the accommodative good of time the commensurate and progressive good of futurity.

On the scale of sensation, experience teaches us that the peace, liberty, and happiness of self is multiplied in the exact ratio of its extension to all surrounding being; and the scale of human perfectibility is graduated by the cessation of violence and reciprocation of aid to the whole sensitive system. The medium of intelligence has two distinct departments—the one called knowledge, founded on observation and limited by experience—the other called conjecture, founded on some palpable object of sense and limited by conceivability. The department of knowledge directs and limits all human action in the formation of social institutions, conforming to the laws of human sensation, which makes sympathy the primary law of the moral, as gravitation is that of the physical world. The laws of sympathy extend individual interest in the ratio of the steel-yard, scale or lever—the momentum of weight or interest increases in the remoteness of relation from the fulcrum of self to the whole circumference of the sensitive system. The comprehensive circle of sensitive life being the extremity of the lever of sympathy, the violence inflicted or kindness extended by man to the brute species becomes the highest momentum of moral evil or moral good. Children, as soon as their perception commences, are perpetual witnesses of violence to the brute species, which forms the greatest momentum of the



counteracting power of sympathy, and follows the ratio of species, nation, country, neighbourhood, friend, parent, self, as explained in the allegory of Pope, comparing self-love to a lake, agitated by the impetus of a pebble, which shews the greatest force to follow the remoteness of the circles of undulation. That is, the greatest interest of self-love advances or is multiplied by the remoteness of its relations; the first remove from self into the circle of friendship procures a higher degree of sympathy and interest than can be acquired by a selfish love contracted into the point of individual existence. The next circle of neighbourhood, or acquaintanceship, offers in their prosperity a multiplied sympathy and interest re-acting upon the well-being of self. The circle of country advances the power of interest to a greater diameter of public good, and multiplies the means of happiness to its citizens, like a great commercial capital, which increases the sum of interest to every stockholder. Thus in every advancing circle, from friendship to sensitive life, the interest of self-love moves in the exact ratio of the diameter of its sympathy. The character of intelligence, called actual knowledge, is nothing more than the observation of the harmony of powers, as rain following clouds, fertilization following rain, the powers of man co-operating with these in the harmony of cultivation followed by harvest. In the moral world, ignorance followed by vice, wisdom followed by happiness, education followed by perfectibility. The observation of the order of the foregoing phenomena enables man to predict the future state of things, and to harmonize the powers of his mind and body with the laws or course of nature, without taking any concern in the metaphysical logomachy in supposititious causes of matter and power in verbal phantasms of spirit, immaterial essence, or abstract ideas.

When we observe any substance or matter in action, as the ball in motion, or the human body thinking, we can have no knowledge how those two bodies of matter modify themselves into action; and by inventing the word spirit we do not at all multiply the phenomena of power, the only evidence of knowledge, which is all founded upon the order of phenomena, independent of their elementary principles of union or causation. Having exhibited in the simplest and clearest manner the nature of actual knowledge, I shall next consider what is the character of improveable knowledge. I have already shewn in my Lecture on the discipline of thought, as distinct from the faculties, that ideas and notions are the constituent parts of actual knowledge, as copies of past events, and that sentiments projecting ideas, on the scale of experience in their capacity of probable relations, constitute improveable knowledge.

I shall illustrate this truth by two simple examples, physical and moral, in the advancement of improveable knowledge. I will suppose a naval architect was disposed to advance the actual



knowledge of the art from a ship of 120 guns to the improveable knowledge of 1000 guns; the ideas, notions, and analogies of the existing art must be projected by sentiment, on the scale of relative powers, that is, sentiment (derived from the Latin *sentire*, to feel) has palpable objects of sensation in the anticipated proportions of keel, ribs, planks, masts, &c., augmented by imagination; these projected relations, brought to the scale of experience, determine the improveable knowledge of nautical architecture. If this architect had drawn his directing analogy from the insect called the nautilus, or any other object, this similitude might suggest modes of experience to detect the relations of power, the only evidence of knowledge, while the analogy itself is nothing but a guide to sentiment. I will suppose, as an example of improveable knowledge in moral truth, that a legislator was disposed to advance the present science of civil liberty into national confederacies of democratic government. The ideas and notions of mixed government, or the existent science of civil liberty in England; would be projected by sentiment into the relations of American government. The analogy of the ancient republics would suggest cautious experiments of democratic power; but these suggestions must all be brought to trial in the relations of power, that is, the circumstances, character, and condition of the American people, which differ so essentially from the Greeks and Romans, and all modern nations, in a manner to repugn all analogous reasoning.

If the inventive genius of the legislator were disposed to advance the improveable knowledge of policy beyond the actual knowledge of American society, the analogy of the human body might dictate experiments on the political body to bring it into a state of union or coadjutation, following the similitude of the members of the human body, which co-operate with all their powers in aid not competition to effect the general good. This suggestion of analogy must be tried in the relation of moral powers by sentiment, which feels the palpable objects of improveable capacity in the relation of sects, where all competition of the members in property, person, and power, might cease, and the same union of energy take place as in the human body, for the purpose of one common object, well-being. If such theory should be objected to as visionary, I answer that bigotry has gone farther than this to make man wretched, and shall reason be allowed no power of experiment to make him happy?

By these examples we discover that the laws of intelligence or knowledge require that the mind must have objects of sensation amenable to the scale of experience, and that all conjectures of inexperimental analogy can have no influence upon human knowledge or human action, but only on imagination and its inexperimental sentiments of conjecture in the rules of analogy. Having defined knowledge as the boundary of human action, I shall now

consider the operation of imagination passing beyond it in the medium of conceivability, generating an influence in the mind which no reasoning can remove or diminish. This operation of imagination may be exemplified in the rational conjecture of planetary inhabitants.

This conjecture being founded on the observation of the planet of the earth, bearing various modes of existence upon its surface. We conclude, through the rules of analogy in genus and species, that all other planets in the same solar system bear also some modes of existence (however differing in form and essence) called inhabitants; and this inexperimental and conjectural sentiment is accompanied with the clearest conceivability, and commands the assent of the mind, though unaided by knowledge and experience.

The operations of the faculty of imagination urging the highest efforts of intellectual energy into the conjectures of origin, end, and causation of an existence, begins its process by reducing all-being or nature into its universal genus of matter and power, and seizing, through the medium of observation, the two objects, indestructibility and unlimited circulation of matter in duration and space, we analogize this genus of the visible with the invisible universe, and arrive in conclusion at a conceivable union of origin, cause, essence, and end of the whole circle of being, according to the poet—

“ All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body matter is, and power the soul;  
Burns in the sun, and blossoms in the trees,  
Glow in the stars, refreshes in the breeze;  
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,  
Spreads undivided, operates unspent;  
Breathes in all sense, informs each modal part,  
And is as perfect in the hair as heart;  
No high, no low, first, last, or great, or small,  
One nature forms, connects, and equals all.”

If we examine the laws of matter and motion within the boundaries of knowledge and experience, we shall not need the aid of imagination to shew us the intimate union of all modes of being in their reciprocal action and circulation. The painter, who disposes his colours on the canvas, or the artist, who disposes his mechanism in a watch, both the agent and patient modes of painter and colours, artist and watch, are reciprocally interchanging their atoms in the chymical process of fermentation and cohesion, or the action of emission and absorption of their particles, so that the atoms which at one moment hold the tools, in successive moments enter into the forms of the fabrication, and *vice versâ*, the particles of these return again into the bodies of the fabricators. Such is the demonstrable union of all matter and power in origin, and essence, and causation of the visible and cognoscible parts of the universe, and from these palpable objects of sense and observation imagination forms, through the

rules of analogy, the conceivable and strongly influential sentiments that this union takes place in the invisible universe, as a most consolatory developement in conjecture of the constitution of nature. This exhibition of the laws of nature makes dissolution, instead of a bugbear, a beneficent fact, that prepares for the disposed atoms of the human body an unlimited range of existence throughout all the modes, systems, and spheres of nature, teaching this important lesson of sympathy during life, that the body of man, which inflicts good or evil on surrounding sensitive life, retributes that good or evil a million millionfold, as may be thus exemplified. As the human body is supposed to renew all its particles or atoms in the course of a few days, it is highly probable that the body of a cruel tyrant inflicting evil on the sensitive system, its atoms may be dispersed and recombined in millions of subjects, slaves, or brutes, and those very atoms which enjoyed the pleasure of only one identity of the mode of tyrant, may retribute that joy in the pain of others in a million of sensitive beings; thus the agency of good or evil is retributed a thousandfold in its patency, and holds out a stronger admonition of virtue or benevolent self-love in the influential sentiments of imagination than in all the homilies of science, or penal codes of superstition. It will consummate the illustration of the laws of intellectual power in their highest actions of imagination, to compare the irregular and ridiculous analogies of superstition with the foregoing analogies of mental discipline. Superstition in all ages has established an intellectual and material idolatry upon the abuse of analogy, as thus, man being an artist of mechanism, they analogize the mechanism of universal nature, and conclude some mode of intellectual existence must be its cause. If we examine the two orders of mechanism, we shall find that they have nothing of similitude in genus or species, the works of man, as watch, house, &c., have no power of reproduction, which distinguish those of nature in animals, vegetables, and fossils, which have all a reproductive power of their identical modes, which proves that the difference of effect in all the operations of nature must have a proportionate difference of cause.

Again, if we examine the nature of intellectual power, we discover that it must have a body or organism of sensations, together with a locality or station to support that body, and form a medium of action for its energies. Now, if we examine the whole visible and invisible universe by the experience of knowledge, or the influential conjectures of a disciplined imagination, operating according to the rules of analogy, we shall discover that intellectual power is an accident or quality of planetary mode of being, and that the various powers of mundane, solar, sidereal, and extra-sidereal systems, united in the same mechanism, must all differ in their genuses and modes as much as the parts of a watch differ in the mode of peg, wheel, index, balance, and main-spring.



In these various powers we observe an action and re-action of cause and effect, from the centre to the circumference, and *vice versâ*, as exemplified in the chemical affinity of all matter in perpetual transmutation from body to body, both in life and death, organism and dissolution, illustrated before in the simile of the painter and the artist, whose atoms become alternately and re-alternately the matter working and the matter worked. Such influential sentiments or conjectures of imagination, founded on the observation of chemical facts, are projected by conceivability into the omoousia or union of all cognoscible parts of being or nature, and here ends the double scale of all intellectual energy in knowledge and imagination. I must here conjure my auditory to examine, with the most profound and suspicious contemplation, these extraordinary efforts of intellectual power to discover and establish its own laws in the great circle of moral truth, whose precise centre and most remote periphery must be determined before we can ascertain any partial measurement of thought or action in theory or practice of human existence. The true definition of moral truth is the most just and general relation of things on the double scale of theory and practice, and like the chess-board, we must view the whole scope of its powers and pieces before we can make a just movement of the smallest piece. This simile will prove the indispensable necessity of exposing the whole nature of truth, in which reason being separated from mystery or religious faith, we shall avoid giving a shock to local opinions and prejudices, and alarming timid minds of little energy and jealous bigotry.

What has been the result of all the local and partial movements of philosophy and credulity on the chess-board of human existence, from polytheism to sectarianism, from this to Deism and forward to Atheism. Again, in the movements of policy from monarchy to aristocracy, from this to constitutionally mixed government on to democracy. After all these partial and local opinions of action, formed on no centre of principle or periphery of system, so little has been done for the well-being of time and perfectibility of futurity, that the civilized world in Europe is now menacing the return to barbarism in the re-establishment of despotism, darkness, and superstition.

In this awful crisis, the laws of America offer the inestimable and unparalleled occasion, in the absolute liberty of the press, to light up the inextinguishable torch of truth and reason, in the discovery of the laws of intellectual power, before the deluge of despotism may involve it in the universal wreck of human perfectibility. This fact of transmutation of matter, as demonstrable in the science of chemistry, makes the tether of experience commensurate with human action by shewing a common interest in the agency and patiency of matter, both in life and death, throughout the whole sensitive system. Here nature drops the curtain upon knowledge, fact, and experience, leaving to reason

the consolatory conjectures of regular analogy, limited by conceivability to multiply hopes and diminish fears of futurity in the vast sphere of intellectual exercitation. Having given a definition of knowledge, and the powers of imagination passing beyond it, it will aid the elucidation of the whole laws of intellectual power by exhibiting the definition of ignorance and error.

#### OF IGNORANCE.

According to the laws of intellectual power, ignorance means an incapacity of conception and action in the absence of phenomena, as where the mind has no object of sensation in a proposition offered to its notice, or where such objects exist accompanied with no experience. For example, in the terms infinite cause, infinite space, infinite duration, such sounds presenting no specific objects of sense whatever to the mind, all intellectual action thereon becomes impossible—and such is the definition of ignorance. Again, in all analogies of similitude that pass beyond the trial of experience, as planetary inhabitant, however rational and regular such analogy, still it falls under the definition of ignorance, because it is removed beyond experience, the only criterion of intelligence.

#### OF ERROR.

The indispensable fallibility of human reason, called error, is owing to the constitutional vicissitude of things in their physical and moral phenomena. Error follows the proportion of this vicissitude. In the laws of physics there exist many unchangeable qualities, as fluidity in water, elasticity in air, and heat in fire, and all their phenomena are capable of a certain assurance of prediction, as that water will drown, air will animate, and fire will burn.

This constancy of phenomena in the same course is greatly deranged in the incessant vicissitude of the moral world. The qualities of benevolence and probity in the human temperament change their nature perpetually in the alteration of surrounding circumstances, and render it impossible to form any absolute prediction on their eventual result, in all cases like those of the foregoing physical cause and effect of water, air, and fire.

In moral phenomena we can only make a probable computation of their course, which will depend for its greater or lesser degree of accuracy on the powers of contemplation, to collect all the evidence of a proposition, and on wisdom and sagacity to decide the approximative result. Hence we see that ignorance and error are indispensable in the laws of intellectual power, and that no revelation or instruction can annihilate them, for they are as essential co-existences as roundness in a circle, quadrangularity in a square, or intangibility in distant parallels, which no power

can reverse into square circles, round squares, or intersecting parallels; in the same manner the prediction of moral phenomena would carry in it the contradictory terms of unchangeable vicissitude or absolute relative truth. Ignorance and error can only be diminished in the ratio of the improvement of the mental faculties, but their annihilation is neither necessary nor possible. It may be useful in this place to recapitulate succinctly the nature of knowledge in contrast with ignorance and error. Knowledge is a power of the human body, through its attribute of intelligence, of observing the course of nature's actions, moral and physical, independent of their causes and essences, that is, by observing the order of vegetation, or the co-operative powers of the sun, seed, air, earth, and human power in cultivation. We may predict usual or project improveable results by multiplying their known relative powers, without any regard to their incognoscible essence or cause. In the same manner we produce knowledge in the moral world by observing the harmonious course of law, government, morality, and man, in their relations of effect to predict the usual results of their co-operative powers, or by projecting these into multiplied relations of improveable knowledge, we may bring them to the test of experience, without any regard to the incognoscible origin, essence, or end of man. The laws of intellectual power make practical experience themselves the criterion of the six senses, and the only medium of intelligence, as may be thus demonstrated:—

Knowledge being nothing more than the observation of the action of things, independent of their causes, that is, a certain order of phenomena in animal or vegetable life, being remembered in their ordinary result the mind, is enabled to predict, not certainly, but only probably a harvest. Now, if any new phenomena should be added to the old by imagination in the agricultural art of manuring, engrafting, transplanting, these new phenomena must be appealed to the test of experience before we can predict the balance of probabilities as to any new result. In the same manner, in the moral world, the phenomena of existing laws and customs being observed in their co-operation, enables the mind to predict a probable and ordinary result of improveable sensation in public prosperity, but if to these laws, &c. we add any new or improvable phenomena, suggested by the imagination of reform, we must bring every new combination to a new test of experience before we can calculate any probability of its result to terminate in improveable knowledge. Thus it has been demonstrated that all knowledge is nothing but a calculation of the balance of probabilities upon the scale of actual or eventual experience brought to the test of sensation, and that it is as impossible to predict without the aid of experience, as it would be to discriminate colours without light to the sense of vision. That all revelation of truth is a downright contradiction or impossibi-



lity in the language of reason (religious faith or mystery is out of my province) because it determines incertitude to be certitude, and futurity to be the present time, both of which are palpable contradictions and impossibilities.

I shall now present you an epitome of the history of human knowledge to trace its infancy, progress, and present state of perfectibility. The affection of curiosity, or a desire of knowledge, seems to have been as essential to the human constitution as those of lust or hunger. These given to perpetuate and subsist the species, that to advance humanity to the perfectibility of its nature.

This affection of curiosity operating in the medium of luxury, arts, and sciences, has advanced human perfectibility from savage to pastoral life; from this to agrestic life, and progressively into scientific and civic life.

The human mind has increased its activity upon the scale of its wants and desires. In savage life intellectual power harmonizes with the low energy of the will in the absence of law and property. In pastoral life the mind rises on the scale of wants and desires, and the increasing energy of the understanding and the will keep pace with each in new institutions of property. In agrestic life wants and desires multiply, and the powers of the understanding advance in the establishment of laws, customs, and commerce. In scientific life, among the inhabitants of the continent of Europe, the wants and desires of the will, augmented by the discovery of the arts and sciences, have carried the technical, contrasted with the essential powers of intellect, to a high state of elevation. The errors of superstition have been detected. Thunder is no longer the voice of an angry demon, but the simple effect of electricity. Eclipses are no longer dragons swallowing the sun, but the mere intervention of the moon between the earth and the sun.

Trials for witchcraft, commanded by the sacred writings, are abolished, and revelation is all placed in the developement of the laws of nature, and all inspiration is regarded as the intelligence and lecture of the great volume of its works, legible in the harmony of effects, independent of the elements of their causes. This high state of technical intellect transferred with the arts and sciences to civic life, whose wants and desires increased by the relations of policy in juries and electoral assemblies, where every individual is agitated with the cares and concerns of a magistrate, and the mind operating in dubious judgment and laborious contemplation, the nice and difficult probabilities of moral truth, instead of the fixed dogmas of arts and science, which give exercise to memory alone, the exalted character of thoughtfulness is exclusively generated among the inhabitants of England and America, the population of civic life. This character of thoughtfulness has carried the technical powers of the

mind to their maximum or acme, where they resemble the parabolic line of the projectile bomb shell, culminating upon its object; that is, the mind inverting upon or viewing itself the point supreme of intellectual energy. The action of the mind inverting its powers upon itself, so as to make man in his substance and attributes the object of study, may be called the essential power of intellect, contrasted with its technical powers according to the poet—

---

“ To turn thought inwards,  
Force back the mind to settle on itself  
The point supreme of manhood.”

In the country of civic life, in which I received my birth and education, which imbued my moral temperament with the highest degree of mental sensibility, with this temperament of sensibility, sympathy, and thought, I undertook and performed the most extensive and instructive travels ever performed by man.

My wants and wishes which formerly operated upon the narrow scale of locality in the social privileges of English freedom, expanded themselves into the relations of nations, species, sensitive system, and all nature. The essential powers of intellect, augmented in the ratio of the desires of my will, and have produced these essays to invert the parabolic curve of technical power in civic life upon self-knowledge to generate essential intellect. This figure of the projectile bomb-shell holds a perfect analogy with the progress of science. Science has been perpetually advancing through all ages into the concave of space far beyond the object of self to stars, planets, suns, and comets. Just so the bomb is elevated beyond its object, that it may acquire a greater momentum in its return to attain it. In these essays I have laboured to invert the parabolic curve of science, and make it penetrate into the great object of self-knowledge. The poet says—

“ All our knowledge is ourselves to know.”

He does not make a depreciating comparison, and say the knowledge of self is more important than the knowledge of astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, &c. They are all lost to his view, like the stars in the effulgence of the rising sun; and the knowledge of self, like the sun, is the only object in the horizon of the mind.

Hence we see, that the arts and sciences have formed the scaffold by which we have erected the important edifice of self-knowledge, and it is now time to throw down the scaffolding and inhabit the fabric. By throwing down the scaffold I do not mean that we should burn our books of science or shut up our schools and colleges. No: I wish only that mankind would

distinguish the difference between science and sagacity ; that they would seek repose, comfort, and happiness in the edifice of self-knowledge, and use science as the balcony of prospect and intellectual pleasure without mistaking it for the dwelling-house. The only use of science has been its projectile force to set the mind in action, while its descending force, or inverted action, formed by thought and meditation, can alone conduct it to its end, the knowledge of self, sagacity, and wisdom. The powerful affection of curiosity in the will of all the human species has hitherto been excited and gratified by science, mystery, fancy, and superstition, but I have no doubt that truth and reason would operate with a greater momentum in uncorrupted minds.

The enquiries of thought and meditation in the study of self and well-being would afford curiosity a more pleasing exercise and gratification than any simple impression of memory by science, and the efforts of thought during a week would generate more energy of mind than the efforts of science through the whole course of a life. If we examine the effect of science upon human happiness, without considering it as the scaffold or progressive medium of intellectual energy, mankind will not be greatly indebted to its beneficence. The institutions of civic life, which has received the greatest force of its energy to carry the technical powers of intellect to their acmé, have affected happiness in an inverse ratio.

The great body of the peasantry labour under a far greater toil and deficiency of good than savages without their liberty, their health, and their pleasures. The higher classes of life, by the custom of dwelling, have broken down the protective barriers of social law, and expose themselves to all the inconveniences of savage life without its moral liberty.

The civil wars and domestic competitions which deprive thousands of their liberty and their lives, are unknown in savage life, and when this child of nature beholds a jail in which debtors are confined, he spits upon the ground, and utters the most indignant execrations against a people, who, instead of participating their possessions with poverty and distress, make them the victims of sordid avarice. Hence we discover, that the highest efforts of technical intellect have done nothing to augment the happiness or advance the essential powers of the mind in wisdom. Wisdom can be acquired only by thought and meditation, of which I offer my own life as an example. The philosophy I have discovered in the discipline of the human mind proceeds entirely from private and self-meditation. No authors, or books of any kind, suggest the most distant hint of my various new systems. They are all sciences, began, conducted, and completed by myself, of which there is no example in the annals of human history. Every science has had a slow and imperceptible origin, conduct, and completion, like the progress of astronomy from the desultory



observation of the Chaldean shepherds, through ptolomaic and copernican improvements to the completion in the principia of Newton. My science of psycology is the work of meditation alone, and not of learning, the medium of all other sciences, and I announce this fact not to acquire fame, profit, or power, but to hold out a consolatory instance of what thought, meditation, and sagacity can effect without the aid of science, and the transcendent prospect of hope to human perfectibility when the universal affection of curiosity, the source of all energy, shall be exercised in thought and sagacity, rather than science and literature.

Having analyzed and exhibited the nature, origin, and progress of knowledge, I shall now consider the various characters of intelligence, and their means of acquisition. These seem to be common sense, talent, ability, genius, good sense, sagacity, and wisdom.

Common sense is that character of intellect which is possessed by those who live in the greatest state of simplicity, and require no greater efforts of mind than what are necessary to personal subsistence and safety. This quality of intellect proceeds from health; the exercise of the senses, and the absence of false knowledge as exemplified in the lives of savage and pastoral nations.

Talent is a quality of intellect acquired by the habitude of a continued pursuit or study of one single object in the mechanic or liberal arts. This quality of intellect is to be acquired by example, attention, and perseverance of study. Ability is a word applied to mark that character of intellectual power which is capable of acquiring an extensive knowledge in any particular science; as an able lawyer, an able statesman, or an able rhetorician. This quality seems to be the union of common sense and talent to a powerful memory and laborious study. Genius is a character of mind that unites all the subordinate qualities of common sense, talent, and abilities, to a powerful imagination, which, to the arts and sciences, advances them to a state of improveable knowledge. This quality is thought to proceed from what is called propensity or aptitude of disposition, but there appears no kind of evidence to justify this sentiment.

In every pursuit of the human mind different degrees of excellence will be attained, and not according to the measure of time and labour, which gives occasion to suppose some aptitude or superior organism of the brain.

That the nervous system or brain is better formed in one man than another, like the muscular system, it would be absurd to doubt; but as genius can never develope itself without effort and exercise, it will be impossible to decide whether aptitude or study tended most to its accomplishment.

Good sense marks the next elevated gradation of intellectual

power. This character of mind unites all the subordinate ones, and denotes a very important and superior exercise of imagination. A sensible man, though he does not possess any peculiar genius of poetry, painting, or philosophy, yet he must exert the highest efforts of imagination and invention to adapt means to ends, to enjoy the present and provide for the improveable condition of human life.

The literal meaning of the term or quality, good sense, is an ample illustration of its nature, which means an exquisite tact or discernment of the sixth sense of thought, by which every action of intellect is discriminated into character and distinct object or idea, to facilitate the operation of reason in its process of comparison. Good sense seizes those fleeting shades of discrimination in moral truth, which are adequate to the purposes of intelligence without that absolute character of precision, which has furnished sophistry and logic, with all that smoke and mist of eloquence which has so long bewildered human reason, and increased its entanglement in the increase of scientific effort. The great object of sophistry and logic is to involve differences, and confound characters. How often do we hear demagogues exclaim the aristocracy of the American Constitution in order to confound it with British aristocracy, the ambition of England, confounded with the ambition of France, and the peaceful revolution of America confounded with the disastrous revolution of France? They say aristocracy is aristocracy, whether found on the continent of America, or the Island of England. Ambition is still ambition in one place or in another, and a revolution is but a revolution on this side of the ocean or the other.

This mist of sophistry will all be dispersed by one ray of good sense, which marks the discrimination of things by comparison as we say a good man, or a tall man, not that he is absolutely good but comparatively so.

Washington was not absolutely good as a man. He had no doubt the foibles of human nature, but in a comparative view, he was by far the best man of this country, whatever might be his errors in policy. The Irish giant, or any other tall man, is tall only in a comparison with others who are shorter. In the same manner the aristocracy, the ambition, the revolution of countries take their characters from comparison, and that nation is called here good and happy, among others less free, less good, and less happy.

This transcendent quality of discriminative comparison belongs to good sense, which caused the poet to apostrophize it in the following couplet—

“ Good sense, thou first and highest gift of heaven,  
Tho’ no one science, fairly worth the seven.”

Sagacity appears next on the rising scale of intellectual power,

which, combining all the subordinate characters of mind, generates a capacity to seize instantaneously the fittest and fullest means to accomplish any particular end.

The epithet sagacious is generally, and most appropriately applied to politicians and moralists, because the means of the moral science, are more complicate, dubious, and multifarious, than those of all the other sciences. The end of liberty is attained by complicate and dubious means, which seem contrasted instead of congenial to their end in restraint, submission, and delegation, of self-powers.

The end of morality or self-interest is attained by augmenting the interest of others, and extending its relations to the whole sensitive system, which offers means apparently contrasted with the peaceful independence and repose of self.

To accommodate and adjust these nice and dubious means to their ends is the difficult and sublime task of sagacity, a quality of mind that human intellect seems not yet to have arrived at. It seems to have been impeded in its progress by the effect of science upon the intellectual temperament, which has substituted the exercise of memory to that of judgment. The quality of sagacity, like that of good sense, though derived from aptitude of disposition and organism of the brain, because neither of these qualities are cultivated by study or instruction, yet, like the vegetable productions, which spring up spontaneously, *they* may be improved and propagated by cultivation. The function of sagacity, which is the adjustment of means to ends, is nothing but the exercise of imagination in thought rather than memory, that is producing ideas from our own minds rather than borrowing them from the record of other men's thoughts.

This habitude, like every other action of mind, is attainable by express cultivation, like poetry, painting, philosophy, &c. where aptitude and organism are combined with study, the progress will no doubt be greater, like the fertility of the soil, which aids the labour of cultivation and finds a happy substitute in the manure of art when absent. There is no reason to doubt that the constant efforts of study to procure the quality of sagacity, would be more efficient to its production than the highest degrees of aptitude or organism of the brain, unaided by exercise or study. It is certain, that, in two subjects of different aptitudes and equal study, the greatest aptitude will no doubt give the greatest excellence, but this difference can never be ascertained but by the experience of cultivation and the comparative view of labour and success. To mark the character of sagacity, I will relate an anecdote of Doctor Monroe, who was seized by his patients in Bedlam, and commanded by them to leap out of the window; to which the Doctor, who was a man of the most notorious sagacity, replied instantly, with a laugh, that it was no extraordinary feat to leap down, but that if they would let him go down, he



would leap up to the window, upon which they let go their hold and the Doctor escaped. In this instance, we have an example of the function of sagacity, which seized in one view the whole chain of cause and effect, or means and ends, in surprize, wonder, madness, in the moral temperament of lunatics, as means to accomplish the end of his escape. The function of sagacity, opposed to science, is to consider things in their complicate and changeable relations of ends and means, whereas science, or the technical power of intellect, considers them in their simple and fixed relations of mode only.

I shall illustrate this important distinction of science and sagacity by applying their action to the various institutions of social life. It has been the great error of modern revolutionary philosophy to consider liberty as a simple mode of freedom, and to conclude that an argumentation of its mass would improve its mode. Sagacity, on the contrary, regarding legal liberty, as a mean accommodated to the moral powers and temperament of the people, makes it harmonize through various modifications with its end, protective government, modified by circumstances to promote the advancement of intellectual energy as the only mean of perfectibility. Again, science, considering the institution of matrimony as a mode of domestic tyranny, the diminution of that evil by unqualified divorce is proposed as a modal reform. Sagacity considers matrimony as a mean of sexual intercourse, accommodated to domestic peace, in the present state of ignorant self-love, and contracted sympathy, and makes its dissolution cautious and difficult.

Science gives to the mind a technical power and propensity to mistake theory for practice. Sagacity presents the double scale of theory and practice, or means and ends, to ascertain the truth of predicament as commensurate with that of perfectibility, which constructs this important axiom, that man must be taught to think before he is called to action, lest, like the unfledged bird, he moves from the nest before he has got his wings, and is lost. From this exposition of the nature of sagacity as distinct from science, it is evident, that all reform must begin with its endowment and improvement in the individual mind; for the progress of science will avail nothing, as the example of all history teaches, to procure actual good or advance the perfectibility of human nature.

I come now to consider the last and highest quality of human intelligence, called wisdom, which comprehends all the subordinate qualities of intellect, and may be regarded as universal sagacity, which, instead of being applicable to profession, as a sagacious physician, sagacious politician, or sagacious legislator, applies to man in all his relations, and nominates him the philosopher, the sage, the man existing in his true category of manhood.

There can be no greater instance of the absence of good sense, and the undisciplined state of human reason, than the incapacity of all ages and nations to discriminate between the qualities of wisdom and science. Sir Isaac Newton, who discovered the laws of light and motion, and the remote relations of the celestial bodies, was regarded as a higher species of being for his excellence in science, while in wisdom he was a downright idiot, proved by his theological writings. Voltaire says, he consoled the envy of mankind for his pre-eminence in science, by his defect in wisdom. The quality of wisdom implies a knowledge of ends and means, and the man of wisdom must know that the end of human existence is not to dissect colours in a prism, or calculate the return of comets, but to develop all his powers in the augmentation of good and diminution of evil in the mundane system, as a member of the great body of the universe of which his material identity forms a co-equal, co-essential, and co-interested part, in time and futurity. That the means to effect this end of existence is the developement of human energy in intellectual power, to discover truth, that is, the most just and most general relations of things in the moral science of laws, institutions, and education. That physical science procures nothing but the means of subsistence or intellectual amusement, and when compared with the knowledge of self becomes obscured like the stars in the presence of the sun.

The pursuits of the physical sciences produce a morbid temperament of dogmatic intellect, repugnant to the functions of good sense, sagacity, and wisdom, tempered with rational doubt. Its discriminations are all specific, gross, and fixed, which offer to good sense no exercise of its delicate and doubtful tact of probability instead of certitude. The fixed relations and definitions of science, in their inflexible rules, take away from sagacity that temperament of pliability and invention which contrasts means with their ends, and ends with their means, by making restraint the means of civil liberty, and licentious liberty the cause of slavery and anarchy. The systematic exclusions of one science from the relations of another; as chemistry from astronomy, this from botany, &c. &c. deprive wisdom of that comprehensive contemplation which consummates the evidence of the moral science, comprehending all knowledge, and the dogma of inflexible rules in the physical sciences destroys that temperament of doubt, which enables wisdom to approach, by doubtful computation, the probabilities of moral truth. The late Dr. Priestley, I think, a more prominent example of the repugnance and incompatibility of wisdom and science than Newton himself. Priestley had written and published the most voluminous works on every subject of science with the most approved ability, and yet in his theological writings he displayed arguments bordering on idiotism. The quality of wisdom is to be acquired by reading such books as



treat of it distinguished from science by the conversation of liberal, sagacious, and enlightened minds, and by constant meditation upon the inventive actions of our own thoughts, and not the reminiscent ideas of others. Thought and meditation upon the inventive actions of our own minds teach us to play upon the instrument of the understanding with its keys, while science makes a barrel organ of the mind, and teaches us to turn the cogwheel of custom and prejudice. The cogwheel player in science can produce no notes beyond what education and custom have fixed on the barrel, and is incapable of harmonizing with the new notes of perfectible theories, while the key player is enabled to strike the most novel and delicate notes of theory, and to accommodate them to the barrel notes of practice, which operation marks the character of wisdom, or the capacity, to choose the best ends, and the best means of human existence in theory and accommodative practice.

In the present state of civil society in Europe, its crowded population, active policy, extensive commerce, extreme luxury, become necessary to provide subsistence in cities. Diffusive lettered education, intelligential intercourse, foreign and domestic, by means of the press, produce precocious observation, and equality of knowledge, unaccompanied with thought, contemplation, and the discipline of reason. In this crisis of the civilized world, the peace and progress of human society demand either the most energetic power of government, or the most diffusive wisdom and sagacity among all classes of population. The province of sagacity is to discover means accommodated to a particular end, while the province of wisdom is to discover ends, and direct them to the great object of improveable and universal good. The sagacious politician discovers means to execute established ends, or system, while the wise legislator discovers the improveability of ends or system, to advance them towards the distinguishing characteristic of human species—perfectibility. The simple definition of wisdom is a capacity of mind to select ends of theory and means of practice, and the universal conduct of mankind in all ages proves its total absence in the human species.

The technical power of intellect having no capacity of selection has constantly preferred and pursued the relation of modes to the relations of man, and thus has acquired a pompous, vain, and useless knowledge of every part of nature in a total ignorance of self and its momentous laws of happiness.

At the present awful crisis of social life, threatening a most tremendous hurricane of discord in a general revolution, not of power, but of moral, political, and philosophical principles, wisdom dictates the construction of an intellectual compass, as a just end and mean, to meet the awful catastrophe, and to weather the storm while sciolists fill the reviews of Europe with the trifling pursuits of literature, and institutes offer rewards for the



discovery of cockle shells; thus mankind are like the astronomer in the fable, who, being told his house was on fire, shut the door of his observatory and desired not to be disturbed.

I think it no presumption to announce to you, that I hold the discovery of the laws of intellectual power, and the discipline of the human understanding as exhibited in these Lectures as salvatory as the fabled ark in the deluge to prevent the human species from falling into the most irretrievable state of barbarism. Literature has been widely diffused over all nations, by means of increasing wealth and leisure, and millions are excited to competition of speech and lettered knowledge. Education can alone remedy this logomachy, by parents teaching their children to think, which requires neither wealth nor leisure, and its diffusion will be universal instead of partial, to generate wisdom and sagacity, to discover truth or happiness in the most just and most general relations of things.

America seems the only country where my important discoveries of wisdom can be diffused to meliorate the moral and intellectual temperament of the people, where social power, like a pyramid standing on the solid basis of numbers, gives organism and duration to the politic body, while sects and colonies go forth to advance in experiments of perfectibility, accommodated to the advancement of intellectual power. I do not mean to flatter the people of this country in a comparative view of their moral temperament with that of other nations. The American character is generally reproached with a sordid pursuit of wealth that absorbs all intellectual energy, and a remarkable defect of the sense of honour, lost in popular equality, which by opposing personal excellence, levels all pride of character, and seems thereby to render all social and moral improvement attainable only through the advancement of intellectual power. But there exists, at the same time, a physical force in the equality of property over the whole mass of population, which offers an infallible pledge of the duration of law and liberty, to perpetuate and diffuse instruction, which must triumph over all impediments, and terminate, however slow its progress in the advancement of human perfectibility, through the only medium of wisdom and sagacity and virtue.

'Tis not for science moral truth to scan,  
But wisdom! Wisdom! Faith, guide, life of man,  
Which shews how little's needful to be known,  
And what that knowledge which impairs the sense.